

HEADWAY

A Review of the World's Affairs

Vol. IV. No. 9.

September, 1922.

Registered with the G. P. O. for transmission
by the Canadian Magazine Post.

Price Threepence.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH	161	SEEING THE LEAGUE AT WORK	170
THE THIRD ASSEMBLY	163	LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP BY	
THE SUPREME COUNCIL	163	COUNTIES (map)	171
A GRAVE POSITION	164	BOOK REVIEWS :—	
APPLYING CHRISTIANITY	164	The Western Question in Greece and Turkey .	172
AGNES ELIZABETH MURRAY	165	The Washington Conference	172
THE LEAGUE BUDGET	165	The Great Adventure at Washington ...	172
THE LEAGUE IN GERMANY	166	SOME RECENT CONFERENCES	173
A LONDON LETTER	167	FOUR LINKED PROBLEMS	174
A LETTER FROM GENEVA	168	THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE	176
MAKERS OF HISTORY :—		LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION :—	
Mr. Lloyd George	169	Notes and News	177

THE MONTH.

["Headway" is published by the League of Nations Union, but opinions expressed in signed articles must not be taken as representing the official views of the Union. Manuscripts submitted for consideration will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope. Letters for the Editor and communications to the Manager should be addressed to Castle Court, Poppin's Court, E.C. 4. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.]

"There exists no means of preventing a flotilla of aeroplanes from flying over London to-morrow and spreading a gas that would poison its millions in three hours. One day science will invent a machine so terrible in its possibilities, so absolutely terrifying that man himself will be appalled and renounce war for ever."—*Thomas Edison.*

WHEN a scientist of the world-wide reputation of Mr. Thomas A. Edison makes such a statement as this, we must accept it as being within the bounds of scientifically ascertained fact. What does it mean for us that the poison-gas Lewisite, invented in America just before the end of the war, and since then perfected—if "perfected" is a word that we can use for the realised acme of murderous efficiency—by Japanese and German chemists, can blot out between breakfast and lunch the heart of the greatest Commonwealth of Nations that the world has ever seen—like an elephant's careless foot can blot out a colony of ants? Lewisite says to humanity: not "If you desire peace prepare for war," but, "If you desire extinction prepare for war." It means that, considered from the most literal standpoint as protection

against horrible death and as protection against the dissolution of ordered life on the planet, the League of Nations and the principles for which it stands, and on which it is steadily being built are man's last hope.

* * * *

AS Lord Robert Cecil said, however, last month at Oxford, to think of the League of Nations as a last hope—though absolutely sound—is inadequate and uninspiring. Lord Robert sounded a vigorous call to a more positive and constructive outlook. He pleaded for the spirit of international co-operation expressing itself through the League of Nations in the prevention of wars, the humane exercise of Mandates in trusteeship for weaker peoples and in such work as the Health Commission, the Traffic in Women and Children Commission, and the Opium Commission are steadily performing.

* * * *

EPOCH-MAKING work has just been done under at least two of these heads—those of the Mandates and of the Opium Commission. When M. Viviani rose in his place at the table of the League Council in St. James's Palace and said, "This is a great and solemn day in the history of the League of Nations," he spoke of the acceptance of the Mandates. What lay behind those words? Had they really any justification in the facts of the situation?

* * * *

THE facts are that: (1) all the C Mandates as they are called (*i.e.*, the Mandates for South-West Africa and the Islands in the Pacific Ocean) have been approved; (2) the B Mandates for a number of Central African territories have been approved; and (3) two of the A Mandates (*i.e.*, of France over Syria, and of Britain over Palestine)

are accepted. The only one remaining to be adjusted is the Mandate for Mesopotamia. But behind those bald facts lie those immense regions of vivid human interest—the lives of millions of brown South Sea Islanders and Pacificans, black African negroes, swarthy Syrians and Arabs whom the Mandates are framed to protect. Behind those again lies the stupendous issue—on which the future of civilisation depends—as to whether the powerful races are going, on the one hand, to try to build empire on the enslavement and exploitation of other peoples, or, on the other hand, to try to build a world-peace on co-operation between the strong for the educative stewardship of the weak.

THE Mandates provide a sturdy test system and erect a standard of stewardship such as form an absolutely new feature in the political landscape of the world. The provision of education, the enforcement of rigorous traffic restriction in arms and in liquor, the establishment of religious freedom—these and other matters of vital human moment lie within the Mandates. It is not possible to exaggerate the importance of the Mandatory system for the future of the world. That system for the first time builds the moral principles of stewardship, for which David Livingstone lived and died in his epic fight against slavery in Africa, right into the central structure of the world's governmental life. All this lay behind M. Viviani's weighty statement at the League of Nations Council.

THE cynic and the sceptic can immediately and pertinently point first, to flaws in the Mandates that have now been accepted by the League Council, and secondly, to defects in the administration of those Mandates by the Governments concerned. The cynic and the sceptic are right in their facts, and they do valuable service in laying bare these things. But they are wrong in their conclusion that therefore the Mandate system will not work. The Permanent Mandates Commission has drawn up searching questionnaires on the administration of these Mandates and has received and is examining detailed reports from Japan (on her mandated islands in the Pacific) from France (on her territories in Syria and in Africa), from Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand (on their islands in the Pacific, on ex-German New Guinea, on Palestine and on the vast mandated areas in Africa). These reports throw the light of an expert publicity on the administration of these areas, and that light is already at work.

AS Professor Gilbert Murray says—discussing this very point in the chapter "Orbis Terristris" in his fascinating new book of "Essays and Addresses" (p. 199):—

"The world has not yet sounded or measured the immense power of mere publicity. . . . Publicity is the only weapon which the League possesses, but if properly used it may well prove to be about the most powerful weapon that exists in human affairs."

We have not space here to allow us to give way to the temptation to quote further from this illuminating book which radiates Dr. Murray's characteristic idealism and practical wisdom, scholarship and luminous simplicity. If readers cannot buy it, let them besiege their lending libraries to get it.

THE "Dangerous Drugs" problem which has grown to menacing strength in the West as well as the East, has also entered on a new phase. The rigorous system of import certificates (by which no manufacturer can export any morphine, cocaine, opium, or other "drugs of addiction," without a certificate from the government of the country to which he is exporting, countersigned by the government from which he is exporting), will revolutionize this problem if thoroughly enforced. When we recall that, for instance, 28 tons of morphine were smuggled in 1920 into China against China's will, and that this would give four doses to every man woman and child of China's 400 millions, we can realise what a powerful weapon for world-welfare this importation certificate system can be. It has now been accepted by 20 States who are members of the League.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury is this month, on September 3rd, putting the seal upon his splendid advocacy of the League of Nations by preaching at Geneva from the pulpit that thundered with Calvin's denunciations, the official sermon on the League. Calling for public and private prayer for the Assembly during these coming weeks, the Primate in his *Diocesan Gazette* attacks "ill-informed criticism" of the League. The League, he says, has already accomplished much.

"There is no greater blunder than to suppose that the League of Nations exists simply as a kind of police organisation for preventing war. Its purpose is far wider, and bears upon all our public life, both national and international."

SIR Robert Baden-Powell has characteristically driven straight to the core of the practical problem of the League of Nations in a powerful speech at the International Scout Conference at Paris. "Peace," he said, "must rest on the character and mutual good relations of the different peoples. It was conceivable that the League of Nations would recognise this, and decide that this should be a matter for an amended form of universal education. This would involve teaching the rising generation to think in terms of peace and not to think in terms of war with regard to other countries."

A VERY vital matter is opened up here, and it is one on which—as the Viscountess Gladstone's recent article in *Outward Bound* shows—other minds are at work. It would be a great thing if the minds that are behind the Boy Scout and Girl Guides Movement, the World Sunday School Conference in Glasgow next year, and the World Conference of Workers Among Boys to be held in Europe next May, could all put their expert knowledge and driving force behind this plea for education with a world-outlook.

ELIZABETH Murray's loss will be felt not only by those in England who have caught something of the spirit of her wonderful devotion, but also by the many suffering peoples abroad who through her efforts have begun to realise that the League is their only hope. All readers of HEADWAY will join with the Editor in expressing the most heartfelt sympathy to Professor Gilbert Murray and Lady Mary Murray. A special memoir by Dr. Maxwell Garnett appears in another column.

THE THIRD ASSEMBLY.

THE Third Assembly of the League is about to begin its work. The agenda is not long and looks almost dry; yet this Third Assembly may well prove extremely important. The story of the League during the past year has been one of steady though not dramatic progress; much useful work has been unobtrusively done, and the situation, as we write, is distinctly favourable. But we must not shut our eyes to the fact that it is by the League's treatment of the great problems of the day, such as disarmament, by its extension into a world League by the admission of States at present outside it, and by the authoritative and peaceful settlement of important territorial difficulties, such as the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, rather than by the regulation of drug traffic and the repatriation of Russian refugees that the League will stand or fall in the estimation of the peoples who compose it. No amount of minor tasks well carried out will avail to invest the League with any considerably greater amount of authority than the old Hague Conference. Indeed, except these small successes be accompanied by resolute action in regard to the major problems of the world, they may lead to a definite diminution of the League's authority and its relegation to the background as a forum suitable enough for the discussion of small problems of international routine, but not well adapted to settling questions of world peace.

This is a contingency which we do not anticipate arising. The League has shown itself capable of grappling with major problems, and we cannot think that it will be permitted to lapse from its sphere of usefulness. But we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that both the French Government and our own seem disposed to make use of the League as a catspaw. Not many months ago, when Mr. Lloyd George wanted a Conference at Genoa, and M. Poincaré was indisposed to attend it, the Frenchman proposed that the questions at issue should be referred to the League. Mr. Lloyd George declined. Now, within the last month, Mr. Lloyd George proposes submitting the Reparations problem to the League, and M. Poincaré declines. We know that incidents of this kind have a deplorable effect. However unimpeachable may have been the intentions of the statesmen in question, such actions are bound to shake public confidence in the League's efficacy.

The burning question before the Assembly is one which is not yet on the agenda. That question is the admission of Germany. Readers of HEADWAY must by now be so familiar with all the arguments regarding this question that it is unnecessary to re-stress its importance or to point out the difficulties. But one thing seems to us abundantly clear. If the Governments of Europe are sincere in their apprehensions of a Russo-German military alliance, it is mere short-sighted imbecility not to take every step, direct and indirect, to bring Germany into the League. A month ago it seemed almost certain that the question would come up. It seems now almost equally certain that it will not. For our part we can only repeat that in our view any attempt to restore European peace and credit which does not take as its basis the Reparations question is so much waste of time. And we put it as a corollary that Reparations will never be satisfactorily settled except in the League and with Germany as a Member of the League.

The session of the Assembly will begin, as usual, with the verification of credentials, after which the election of the President will take place. We should be glad to see the honour conferred this year upon a South American. Both the previous Assemblies have been under the Presidency of Europeans, namely, M. Hymans (Belgium) and Dr. van Karnebeek (Netherlands). The choice of Señor Edwards of Chile, or M. da Gama (Brazil) would be popular in the Assembly, and would

have an excellent international effect. We trust also that the debate on the report of the Council will follow the same path of healthy criticism as in the past. The report is an excellent and very readable document, and records a vast amount of useful work usually competently and sometimes brilliantly done. But in notable instances, such as disarmament and the Polish-Lithuanian controversy, procrastination and delays seem to have occurred which, on the face of things, demand account. We hope the Assembly will be resolute in calling for explanation and amplification where necessary, and unsparing in criticism where criticism is called for.

We wish to end this article on a note of optimism, and there are two good reasons for doing so. In the first place, thanks largely to the personal exertions of Lord Robert Cecil, there will be some progress to report to the Assembly in connection with the scheme for reducing armaments. If the Assembly, in approving of these proposals, as it undoubtedly will, were but to urge upon the members of the League some definite and practical step, and if the Great Powers of Europe would act upon the Assembly's recommendation, that would go a long way towards bringing America back to the League; and the absence of America remains outstandingly the League's greatest handicap. Secondly, the Argentine Republic, after having been absent since the beginning of the first Assembly, is returning this year to take its place. This is a good omen. It shows that the young States of the New World are beginning to realise that the co-operation of Europe with them is every whit as essential as their own co-operation with Europe, and that the body which gives the best hope of achieving that co-operation in a manner satisfactory to all, is the League of Nations.

THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

AT the last meeting of the Supreme Council, it was reported on good authority that the Prime Minister proposed that the Reparations question should be handed over to the League of Nations. M. Poincaré refused this, and, we venture to think, unwisely. His predecessor, M. Briand, agreed to the Upper Silesian question being handed over to the League, with the result that it was settled satisfactorily, not only from the point of view of the area concerned, where German-Polish industrial representatives have already made an agreement, but also from the point of view of France, because the line decided upon by the Council of the League, and explained by Lord Balfour in a public statement in England when he came back, largely coincided with the line previously drawn by France.

It is clear that M. Poincaré is less sympathetic with the League than his predecessor. It would be more helpful if the powers concerned would remember that the League is not a separate organisation, but part of themselves, and, therefore, can only act usefully if it is supported by the Governments who are members of it. Referring the problem of Austria for the third time to the League is of no use unless the members of the League are prepared to do something for Austria, and the only members who can usefully do this are the members of the Supreme Council. There is no problem in Austria except the problem of national poverty, and that can only be mitigated by the victorious powers releasing their hold on Austrian assets for the purpose of reparation. To say that the League is powerless to help Austria is merely to say that the members of the League who referred this matter to it are not prepared to do anything themselves.

[In the "Letter from Geneva" in page 168 due tribute is paid to the efforts of American benevolence in helping the distressed populations of Europe. We think that great credit is due also to the Society of Friends in this country for their wonderful work in Russia. This, unfortunately, is far from finished and we would ask all readers of HEADWAY to consider sympathetically the advertisement that appears in page 175.—Ed.]

A GRAVE POSITION.

THE League of Nations Union is faced with a serious financial crisis. The Appeal which was launched at the Mansion House last October, has met with varying success. In London, a great many donations were received, but in the Provinces, generally, the effort has had to be postponed until this autumn, when it is hoped that there will be a real improvement in trade. The proceeds of the Appeals, so far, have just enabled the Union to carry on with difficulty. There has been no surplus for the reserve fund desired. Unless considerable sums are raised within the next few months, the work of the Union will have to be seriously curtailed in 1923.

The Prime Minister's speech quoted in the "London Letter" bears striking testimony to the necessity of expanding rather than reducing our activities. Mr. Lloyd George is sure that it is organised public opinion alone that can make the League the success it will have to be, if civilisation is to be saved.

Last year, Headquarters (including Regional Representatives), cost just under £40,000 or £119 less than had been estimated for. This year, although the work has vastly increased, the estimated expenditure has been reduced to £36,000. Of this sum less than £4,000 will come from ordinary subscriptions, the bulk of which is retained by Branches and District Councils for their own work. Thus about £32,000 has to be found in special donations. A great effort will be required to meet this budget, and to prepare for next year's work.

Details of how the money is spent are contained in the Annual Report adopted by the General Council. The work of headquarters is threefold—collecting, preparing, and assimilating new knowledge, distributing this knowledge, and making effective the policy based on it. The Intelligence Section attends to the first. Distribution is effected through Branches, public meetings, literature, the Press, and other organisations such as the churches, the schools, women's societies, the British Legion, etc. Policy is made effective through the Parliamentary Section and the Labour Section. In addition, contact must be kept with other League of Nations Societies abroad, and with the trend of foreign opinion generally. This is done through the Overseas Section. That the full power of our great and increasing membership may be brought to bear as it should, central organisation is absolutely essential. Money has to be found apart from subscriptions, and this is done by the Appeals Section.

For the Union to fail now from lack of funds, would be a very real disaster not only to this country, but also to the world at large. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us to try to devise ways and means to overcome the present difficulties. The following suggestions will be justified if they succeed in attracting constructive criticism. Headquarters gladly welcomes suggestions from members and others into whose hands HEADWAY may fall, as to the best and most inexpensive way of collecting the money required to enable the work of the Union to be carried to completion.

We have over 200,000 members. If every one of them would undertake to collect one shilling from each of twenty friends, and forward the twenty shillings thus collected to his own Branch of the Union for transmission to Headquarters, the desired result would be obtained, and we should be able to carry on our work with renewed vigour. After all, the sacrifice required to subscribe a shilling is not very great, even in these hard times. It only means, say, two packets of cigarettes less for one week, or one Cinema show, or a shilling's worth of chocolate less, and the shilling is found. One million shillings saved in one week by one million people represents £50,000. The difficulty, of course, is in collecting the shilling with a minimum amount of expense.

Twenty years ago, the Wesleyan Methodist Church collected from their people one million guineas, at an expense of only some £3,000, or about 3 per cent., of the total collected. Great as was the need of this Church, our need to-day is infinitely greater. With a membership of over 200,000, it ought surely to be possible to raise £200,000 either in the way indicated, or by some other means. We have nearly 50,000 members who are receiving HEADWAY every month. If each of these would promise to pay five shillings a quarter for twelve months, this would represent £50,000. Five shillings a quarter means a subscription of less than sixpence a week. With a determined effort on the part of all our members, it would be quite possible to raise sufficient money within the next few months to enable us to carry on our work as long as is necessary.

H. G. G.

APPLYING CHRISTIANITY.

THE League of Nations Union is now making plans for a great effort to persuade every Church in the country to take up the cause of the League as a practical form of Christianity. It is suggested that just as almost every Church possesses a Missionary Society, so it should have within itself a League of Nations Union organisation. To attain this end it is not enough that the Church should become a "corporate member" of the Union. A special secretary should be appointed, whose duty it will be to attend to the furtherance of the interests of the League in the same way as the secretary of the Missionary Society safeguards the interests of missions. The Prime Minister struck the key-note of this campaign in his recent address at a Free Church Conference. He declared that the League was the only hope of civilisation: "The League of Nations is a Magna Charta, but it has no force unless the opinion of the nations, unless the people of the nations, are behind it to enforce it, and to make it impossible to resist its decrees. The Churches must do that," said Mr. Lloyd George.

To become a "corporate member" it is necessary for the organisation concerned to promise its active support to the League and the Union, and to subscribe not less than £1. All literature and publications of the Union will be sent to corporate members, who undertake to secure the individual membership of as many of their number as possible.

We hope that every Branch and every individual member of the League of Nations Union will co-operate by doing what is possible to bring every Church and Chapel into line. The goodwill exists, but it is our duty to make it effective by organisation. There is no time to lose in carrying to its completion the great task which the Union has undertaken—the task of making the vast majority of British people wholehearted and intelligent supporters of the ideals of the League of Nations.

AUSTRIA AND THE LEAGUE.

THE Supreme Council has asked Austria to go to the League for assistance. On August 21st, Dr. Seigel, the Austrian Chancellor, conferred with Dr. Benes, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister. The point discussed was whether or not it would be any good going to the League. In the end the view of Dr. Benes prevailed. The able Czechoslovak Premier is an enthusiastic League man. His main argument on this occasion was that the Central European problem "could not be solved by experiment and immediately, but methodically and step by step."

A MAGNIFICENT GIFT.

THE Rockefeller Foundation has offered £50,000 to the Health Organisation of the League, and the offer has been accepted. The gift is in two parts—60,000 dollars a year for three years to allow of an interchange of staff in the public health services of various countries, and 30,000 dollars a year for five years for the development of an international office for distributing information about epidemics. The plan will be put into action at once.

THE LEAGUE BUDGET.

THE Budget for the League of Nations, during the year 1923, that the third Assembly will be asked to approve, amounts to twenty-five million Swiss francs. This sum is not only for the salaries and travelling allowances of the staff of the League Secretariat, members of the Technical Organisations, and Advisory and Administrative Commissions, &c., but for the holding of all League Conferences, both special Conferences, and Assembly and Council Meetings. Twenty-five million Swiss francs at the present rate of exchange is equal to about £1,070,000. This sum, which is divided among the fifty-one States of the League, is the amount required to build one light cruiser or two destroyers. Great Britain's share of this sum, which, on the present system of allocation (that the third Assembly is to change), is a little under one-twentieth or about £50,000 annually. To gain an idea of what this sum comes to, it is sufficient to note that recently Parliament passed almost without discussion a sum of £169,000 for research work in poison-gases.

PUBLICITY FOR THE LEAGUE.

THE League of Nations Union has been the target for a great deal of severe criticism because of the circular letter that went out with August HEADWAY. This letter asked members of the Union to write to their newspaper editors requesting more publicity about the League, and particularly about the forthcoming Assembly. As a result, thousands of letters were received in the offices of newspapers. There was general irritation at what was obviously an inspired campaign, and the first effect was the reverse of that intended. Fortunately, the League bulks too largely in the world's affairs to suffer much from a mistake such as this, and there is some compensation in the fact that perhaps, for the first time, many editors have been made aware of the strength of the League of Nations opinion throughout the country.

On the whole, the British Press gives generous notice to League news, quite apart from editorial policy. Information and articles regularly issued from the London offices of the League, and from the headquarters of the League of Nations Union, appear in more than two hundred papers.

Amidst a host of consistently active Press friends it is invidious to make distinctions, but it is, perhaps, profitable to note a few of those organs of public opinion that differ widely on most other subjects, but are agreed in their support of the League. In this list are included the "Daily News," the "Westminster Gazette," the "Times," the "Daily Telegraph," the "Manchester Guardian," and the "Birmingham Post." It is significant that the two most active enemies of the League represent the two extremes of political opinion. It would be difficult to decide whether it is the "Morning Post" or the "Daily Herald" that can claim the title of saying the bitterest things about the League. But it is only fair to acknowledge that neither of these papers closes its news columns to the League. It is the "Daily Express" that almost succeeds in doing this, but it is becoming apparent now that League affairs have acquired a news value which occasionally outweighs even Lord Beaverbrook's well-known hostility.

Most newspapers are run on commercial lines, and must maintain circulation to ensure advertising revenue. Competition is very keen. The growth of the League of Nations Union is increasing the number of those who wish to read more about the League in their newspapers. Editors and proprietors are alive to movements in public opinion such as this, and may be depended upon to try to satisfy them. Those who are dissatisfied with the League's present publicity cannot do better than help in the autumn membership campaign of the League of Nations Union.

W. E. G. M.

AGNES ELIZABETH MURRAY.

BY the death of AGNES ELIZABETH MURRAY in France, on August 18th, on her way home from a holiday in Albania, the League of Nations Union has lost one of the most promising, and already one of the most distinguished, of its officers, not yet 28 years of age.

The daughter of Professor Gilbert Murray, and the granddaughter of the Countess of Carlisle, MISS MURRAY was educated privately, and afterwards at Somerville College, Oxford, where she took her M.A. degree a year ago. When war began she interrupted her studies in order to become a trained nurse. Desiring to render the utmost service of which she was capable, she gave up nursing and became a despatch rider with the Royal Air Force. But here she had nothing more dangerous or difficult to do than to ride a motor-bicycle between Richmond and Woolwich through the heart of London. So at last she transferred to the French Army, with which she served in the field as a motor-transport driver.

When war ended MISS MURRAY immediately devoted herself to healing its wounds. She first worked with the Friends' Relief Mission in Vienna, and afterwards joined the staff of the League of Nations Union in London. For the past year MISS MURRAY has been doing valuable work in the Intelligence Section, whose business it is to obtain and assimilate news about international affairs, and especially about the League of Nations. Many of the Union's recent publications bear witness to her accurate knowledge, her clear thinking, and her exceptional power of expression. But it was as a speaker that MISS MURRAY showed the most brilliant promise; and already the number of English women who could be reckoned as her equal in platform speaking was very small indeed.

But among her friends in the League of Nations Union MISS MURRAY will be remembered less for these great gifts that promised her widespread fame, than for her bright spirit, her swift and eager mind, her friendliness and her kindness to every one of her colleagues.

J. C. M. G.

NO PARTY POLITICS.

ON the occasion of the re-election of its honorary officials, the League of Nations Union has received cordial letters from the leaders of all the political parties. The Prime Minister "much appreciates the honour," and is "delighted to continue to fill that position" (i.e. Hon. Pres.). Mr. Asquith "attaches the greatest value to the magnificent work which the Union has done and is doing." Lord Balfour "has pleasure in accepting office." Viscount Grey is "very glad to continue to have the honour of being President of the League of Nations Union," and is "much obliged to the Council" for re-electing him. Mr. Clynes also "gladly" accepts re-election as Hon. Pres., and adds:—

"I have arranged during the week of the Trade Union Congress in Southport to address a public meeting there under the auspices of the Union, and, in reply to a letter with regard to inviting the Member for the Division, I have replied that certainly he should be invited, and if there is a candidate of any other Party the Candidate also should be invited, and that all these gatherings should be viewed from a non-Party standpoint."

THE LEAGUE IN GERMANY.

By DR. MARGARET ROTHBART.*

GERMANY stands upon the threshold of decision whether she shall apply for admission to the League this year or not.

All students of political discussions in Germany at present must be struck by the small place this question fills. The conflict between the monarchist and republican ideas, the constitutional struggle between Bavaria and the State, the threatening attitude of France in the Reparations question, and the catastrophic slump of the exchange, all bite so deep into private and public life in Germany that there is little energy remaining for grappling with a problem whose importance is unrealised by most people. The arguments, for and against, were indeed matter of lively discussion in the Press very recently, but the interest was stimulated from outside by Mr. Lloyd George's expression of desire for Germany's entrance, and by the replies that his speech evoked in France.

When the topic of Germany's relations with the League is discussed here, an astonishing ignorance is usually manifested about the nature and powers of the political machine which came into being with the Peace Treaties of 1919. Germany had hoped, at the beginning, to be an original member of the League. The young Republic had taken up Mr. Wilson's ideals with an enthusiasm of which no foreigner can form a conception, and had placed her hopes in international co-operation. She knew herself defeated in war, and was under no illusions about the Peace Treaty; but no one in Germany had expected her to be treated as a pariah among the nations. Therefore, when the Treaty of Versailles, in addition to its heavy material burdens, laid the moral burden of sole responsibility for the war upon Germany's shoulders, and she was judged unworthy of a place in the League of Nations, most Germans turned aside in the bitterness of wounded pride. Thus it comes about that so few know what the League has done, and what future possibilities it holds.

In spite of all this, however, Germany might have been won over to the League idea if its decisions had not seemed to Germans unjust and hard. Eupen and Malmédy, Upper Silesia, the Territory of the Saar, every one of these names awakens in many German hearts the memory of injustice endured, and hardens them against every instance that can be alleged of just and impartial efforts to settle these vexed questions. After these early experiences there is but little desire to be admitted into the "Syndicate of Victors," as it is often called in Germany.

The group who hold these opinions, and who base their unwillingness to join the League upon the League's past record, is a very large one. There is another, who would be prepared to seek admission, but are not prepared to risk refusal. When confronted with assurances from England and Italy that the two-thirds majority required to vote admission of a new Member-State will certainly be forthcoming, this group declare that in the interests of the League itself they would not risk an adverse vote from France. Germany, they say, must not enter the League as an intruder, but only as a companion accepted with equal readiness by all. She must, moreover, be accorded the place in the Council to which her political weight entitles her. The subordinate rôle, played by the lesser States in the Assembly, does not befit either her past position or her importance in the scheme of world reconstruction. Since unanimity is a condition for all decisions of the Council, Germany could thus be secure that she would never be outvoted and made to share responsibility for decisions she disapproved.

* Dr. Margaret Rothbart was a delegate of the German League of Nations Union ("Völkerbundsliga") to the Sixth Conference of Voluntary Societies, held at Prague in June, 1922.

We may take it that this is the line of reasoning which determines the attitude of the German Government. If they had a binding assurance that Germany's admission would not be preceded by painful discussions, and that it would be followed shortly by Germany's inclusion in the Council, they would find courage to take the step which many of their people, partly from ignorance, and partly from a hostile attitude towards the League, will misunderstand.

There is a third group, which, reckoned by numbers, is the smallest, that advocates eagerly the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations. Among these we must distinguish the utilitarian school of politicians, who see in the League the best way of salvation for Germany out of her present troubles, from the pacifist party, who look to the League as the only safeguard from the repetition of the horrors of the war years. These last make the League the foundation of all their hopes for the future. The utilitarians argue as follows: We are not satisfied with the League as it is. But through it we perceive our only means of revising the worst injustices of the Peace Treaty, and of obtaining a voice in the question of the administration of the Saar, which for us is vital. We will not have the mistake made at the Hague repeated, when Germany placed herself outside the comity of nations. If only for this reason we should ask for admission without making conditions, so that the world may see that we have learned from our past errors. If our application should be refused, and the door of the League slammed in our faces by France, then the world will see that it is not we who are the peace disturbers, and the verdict of history will be a just one. We are ready to co-operate loyally, and it shall not be our fault if the League continues to lack its most precious quality—universality.

These practical arguments do not preclude their exponents from eagerly desiring to see Germany a member of the League. In other countries as well as Germany, League membership has been the aim of political realists, as well as of political idealists.

If the forthcoming Assembly of the League in September should pass without any application coming from Germany, the most important task of the League during the next year should be to win German public opinion over to its side. This can best be done by reiterated assurances from authoritative quarters that Germany will be welcomed, and given the position that befits her. Above all, however, the present German Government should be strengthened by encouragement of its foreign policy. So long as the mass of the people associate it with failure and weakness, so long will the extremists of the Right and Left, who desire its downfall, find their way smoothed. Neither the Nationalist Party, which refuses to co-operate with the Entente, nor the Bolshevik Party, which desires to amalgamate with the Third International, would think of entering the League of Nations.

The Government of Republican Democratic Germany, on the other hand, would make application for admission as soon as it is convinced that it can justify its action with a clear conscience before the public opinion of the nation.

SIR A. J. SALTER.

SIR A. J. Salter was, during the war, British Secretary on the Inter-Allied Shipping Control Board, and subsequently embodied his observations and experiences in a book on Inter-Allied Shipping Control during the war, that has become a classic on its subject. He became Director of the Economic Section of the League Secretariat immediately after the war, but was then prevailed upon by the British Government to become Secretary-General of the Reparations Commission. From this position, however, he recently resigned, and has now returned to the League Secretariat as Director of both the Transit and Economic Sections.

A LONDON LETTER

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1.

NO MORE WAR.

THE "No More War" Demonstrations which took place in this and sixteen other countries during the last week-end in July, showed how widespread is the will to peace among the peoples of the world. But the cry, "No More War," earnest and grave though it be, will not of itself suffice to achieve the desired end. As well might we cry, "No More Disease," and withhold our support from hospitals. The negative aim must be replaced by a positive constructive ideal before the nations of the world can indeed live in peace and security.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S VOW.

Just that needed constructive note was supplied by the Prime Minister's moving address to Free Churchmen on July 28th. "What I saw of the war, day by day," said Mr. Lloyd George, "makes me vow that I will consecrate what is left of my energies to make it impossible that humanity shall in the future have to pass through the fire, the terrors, the cruelty, the horror, and the squalor of war." In a few words the Prime Minister pointed to the one means of achieving this aim. "The League of Nations is an essential part of the machinery of civilisation. If it succeeds, civilisation is safe. If it fails—and I speak advisedly—civilisation is doomed." These are strong words, but they are not too strong for the truth.

The Prime Minister then drove home the practical moral to his hearers. "You must put in the League of Nations the public opinion which can alone make it a force. . . . The League of Nations is a Magna Charta, but it has no force unless the opinion of the nations, unless the people of the nations, are behind it, to enforce it and to make it impossible for anyone to resist its decrees."

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE LEAGUE.

The opening of the International Peace Congress in London, on July 25th, was the occasion of a welcome speech by the Minister for Education, defining British policy in reference to peace. "It is not surprising," said Mr. Fisher, "that the ideals of the League of Nations have been warmly welcomed in this country, seeing that the traditional aim of British policy is identical with that which the League of Nations sets before itself to achieve. It is a policy of peace."

Mr. Fisher went on to say, amid loud applause, endorsing the Prime Minister's declaration a month earlier, that it was the desire of the British Government that Germany should apply for admission to the League this year.

A message was read from the King, welcoming the delegates to the Conference, and assuring them of his sympathy with the objects they had in view. To this the Conference replied, by assuring his Majesty that no efforts would be spared on their part to further his hopes for peace.

On July 27th the Conference listened to an important speech by Lord Robert Cecil, urging that the authority of the League of Nations should be increased, and expressing the earnest hope that Germany would apply for admission.

THE OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL.

This year the League of Nations Summer School at Oxford more than fulfilled the promise of 1921. It was an unqualified success. In the unavoidable absence of Professor Gilbert Murray and Major the Hon. Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Frederick Whelen and Mr. G. H. Maïr gave admirable lectures on the League of Nations and on Mandates. Mr. Delisle Burns' excellent course on the History of International Relations was much appreciated, as was Lord Burnham's speech on the I.L.O. An opportunity was given the delegates to hear

of the varied activities of the League of Nations Union from the heads of its various Sections—Educational, Political, Religious, Public Meetings, Press. The inaugural Address was given by Dr. Maxwell Garnett.

The value of the Summer School may be gathered from one interesting incident. A young Dutch student, studying at Oxford, dropped in by accident to Balliol and heard the first lecture of the School. He attended every subsequent lecture, and was so impressed by what he heard that he made up his mind there and then to give his life to the service of the League of Nations, and to direct his coming four years of study in such a way as to serve that special end.

THE NEAR EAST.

In view of the failure of previous efforts to secure a settlement of the Near Eastern question, it seems inevitable that it will be raised at the meeting of the Assembly this month. A committee, appointed by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, has been studying the question, and has made certain recommendations, notably the following:—That, seeing that it is regrettably certain that the information forthcoming from present official sources must necessarily be of an *ex-parte* character, a member of the Political Section of the Secretariat of the League should be detailed to collect information on the spot.

If this suggestion is adopted, the Assembly will have at its disposal all information from its own sources should the matter be raised.

AMERICA AND THE PERMANENT COURT.

Mr. Hughes has stated that the United States would not take part in the Permanent Court of International Justice unless satisfactory arrangements were made for participating in the election of Judges. A Committee on Amendments to the Covenant, appointed by the League of Nations Union has for some time past been giving attention to this question, and has suggested a draft "Amending Statute" to be accepted by all Members of the League who have signed the Protocol of the existing Statute for the establishment of the Permanent Court. This Amending Statute would read as follows:—

"Any State mentioned in the first Annex to the Covenant which is not a Member of the League, but which signs the Protocol and a further Protocol signifying its willingness to bear an equitable share of the expenses of the Court referred to in Article 33 of the Statute, shall be admitted to vote in the election of the Court as if it were a Member of the Assembly, and may, by a resolution of the Council, also be admitted to vote as if it were a Member of the Council.

If that Statute were passed, everything would be covered. America would have her full share of the nomination and appointment of judges; equal rights and duties in respect of recourse to the Court; and would contribute her equitable share of the expenses. But she would remain, quite as much as at present, outside the League.

THE VISIT TO GENEVA.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL at Geneva was remarkable in many respects, but particularly in the fact that an opportunity was given to attend an important meeting of the Mandates Commission. At this session the Commission dealt for the first time with regular annual reports submitted by the Mandatory Powers under Article 22 of the Covenant. Sir Joseph Cook (Australia), Sir James Allen (New Zealand), and Mr. Matsuda (Japan), were the accredited representatives of the Mandatory Powers at the session, which was the first full working meeting of the Mandates Commission. The mandates dealt with were C mandates—chiefly islands in the Pacific, namely, New Guinea, Samoa, Nauru, Yap, &c. Next year, owing to the ratification of the "A" and "B" mandates by the Council in its recent London session, the Mandates Commission will, for the first time, deal with annual reports by mandatory powers on the administration of the "A" and "B" mandates. J. B.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, August, 1922.

THE Third Assembly is drawing near, and preparations for it are proceeding apace. The Council meeting in London has been followed by meetings of sub-commissions of the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments, and of the Permanent Advisory Commission on Naval, Military, and Air Questions, by a meeting of the Mandates Commission and of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and of the Health Committee. Just before the Assembly there will be a further meeting of the Council and of the Temporary Mixed Commission, at which the year's work will be brought into final form for presentation to the Assembly.

The Mandates Commission, which dealt for the first time with annual reports presented by the Mandatory Powers under Article XXII. of the Covenant, gave an interesting glimpse of the possibilities of the Mandate system: one of the reports, which all relate to "C" Mandates, dealt with the administration of the Nauru Mandate, and the Mandates Commission took the occasion to hold a public meeting, at which it put certain pointed questions to Sir Joseph Cook and Sir James Allen on the subject of the monopoly in phosphates established by the Mandatories, and the very wide powers over the natives delegated to the company exploiting this monopoly. The Commission is making a report to the Council on the scruples and apprehensions aroused by its present view of these aspects of the Nauru Mandate, and asks for fuller information from the Mandatory Powers. This matter will come before the Assembly, where there will be a further opportunity for public opinion to make itself felt.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation's first meeting—attended by such celebrities as Madame Curie, Henri Bergson, and Professor Gilbert Murray—was unexpectedly successful in giving the very vague and filmy job of the Committee a local habitation and a name, so to speak. The Committee decided to gather data on questions such as the economic position of intellectual workers (especially in Eastern and Central Europe), intellectual property (patents and copyrights), international co-operation in, and distribution of, information concerning research work and the results of research; the exchange of publications, the international organisation of bibliography and inter-university relations (inter-varsity scholarships, exchange professorships, &c.). When sufficient precise data have been obtained on these various subjects, the Committee proposes to make definite proposals for international action. An interesting point was the announcement of the Committee's opinion that there was no use in asking scientists of various countries to publish the results of their researches in poison gas, since there was no way of securing the adoption of these suggestions by the various nations, or of controlling its effective application if it were adopted. In other words, if nations consider it worth while to go to war, they will, by the innate logic of the situation, consider it worth while to win wars by taking as much life and creating as much destruction as possible, and attempts to make rules about not using revolvers (*pace* Mr. Fisher), or not having any horrid secrets about poison gas, will not be attended by conspicuous success. The only practical course in this matter is the logical course of trying to abolish war—not trying to humanise it.

The Health Committee of the League is at present holding its last meeting before the Assembly, and the result has been to make the position of the League Health Organisation clear: on the one hand, the Health Organisation, through its Epidemics Commission, has done extremely valuable work in aiding the public

health authorities of East Europe to fight epidemics. This work was begun in Poland, but is now being extended to Latvia and Lithuania, and the Epidemics Commission has established very close working relations with the Health Commissariats of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. The Health Organisation has also been designated as the mediating body in the series of sanitary conventions now being concluded between the various States in Eastern and Central Europe. Moreover, the Health Committee will co-opt a German member at this session on the recommendation of the Council following upon a resolution of the Warsaw Health Conference. At this Health Conference, too, the League Health Organisation was designated as the organ for carrying out a large scale anti-epidemic campaign in East Europe planned by the Conference and subsequently approved by the Genoa Conference. This, however, brings in the other side of the picture: it is true that the Epidemics Commission has hitherto received some £187,000 odd from the Governments Members of the League, of which sum Great Britain contributed £50,000, Canada £40,000, and France £50,000. It is also true that the British Government is at present willing to find another £100,000, providing the remaining members of the League contribute in proportion. But something like a million pounds are required to do any lasting good in East Europe, and particularly in Russia, which has become a permanent and never-drying source of typhus and relapsing fever, as the Ganges is a source of Asiatic cholera. So far the replies received in answer to questions as to what action the various Governments propose to take in pursuance of the resolutions their representatives endorsed at Warsaw and Genoa, do not encourage the belief that any considerable sum will be forthcoming in the immediate future. So that whereas the League machinery is already assembled, and has proved itself highly efficient on the small scale on which it has hitherto been permitted to work, there is no sign of the Governments Members of the League being as yet sufficiently keen on European reconstruction to provide this machinery with fuel enough to run full speed ahead.

The contrast between European parsimony and American munificence in these matters is indeed humiliating. The International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation has just concluded an agreement with the League Health Organisation financing certain branches of its work (the epidemiological intelligence service and the interchange of sanitary staff) to the extent of 90,000 dollars a year; the American Relief Administration and Red Cross have furnished the League's High Commissariat for Russian Refugees with a sum of £45,000 for the relief of refugees in Constantinople, and other American organisations are offering very considerable help for the same purpose. With great difficulty, members of the League between them have produced £17,000, of which the British Government has contributed £10,000. The American Relief Administration is feeding seven millions in Russia; the European nations between them have furnished Dr. Nansen with sufficient funds to feed about one million. The A.R.A. has imported over eight million dollars' worth of medical stores into Russia—a contribution which, as was brought out at the present meeting of the Health Committee, has alone kept the Russian medical service alive, both through making its work materially possible and through keeping up the spirit of the Russian doctors, who are toiling amidst disease and death under heart-breaking conditions with a devotion and self-sacrifice which are almost unknown. Europe has done absolutely nothing to compare with this. As for the American Red Cross, one has only to travel in East Europe to know the marvellous and far-flung work done by that organisation. But Europe can find the money to keep under arms one million more soldiers than existed in 1914, despite the fact that the Central Powers have since been disarmed!

Z.

Makers of History.
MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

By A. WYATT TILBY.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S interest in foreign affairs was acquired rather than politically inborn. Long after he was our most famous domestic statesman, the Continent knew nothing of him, and he knew little of the Continent. Even when he was chosen as the mouthpiece of the Government to warn Germany at the time of Agadir, nobody was prescient enough to foresee in the Mansion House speech the first appearance on the international stage of a great European statesman.

There are certain advantages, as well as rather obvious disadvantages, in taking up foreign politics after the first flush of youthful enthusiasm and irresponsibility has exhausted itself in the domestic field. At a time when events are moving quickly, one has already seen enough of changes both at home and abroad to realise that no single principle will cover every case, and that what is sometimes dignified by the name of principle is really no more than a formula. There is such a thing as respecting the conventions too much. The mind which had proved so fresh and original in domestic matters would be not less frank and free in its dealings with foreign statesmen.

The Prime Minister, as his own Foreign Secretary, has more than a trace of the Palmerston method allied with something of the Gladstonian outlook. He has been called an opportunist; and a French gibe—that Paris has many Prime Ministers and one policy, whereas London has one Prime Minister and several policies—has been witty enough to stick. But its truth is little more than superficial. At a time when the situation changes every week, the means adopted for dealing with it must also change, if they are to accomplish anything; and Mr. Lloyd George has never cared much for that terror of smaller men, the reproach of inconsistency. If he were asked "what he said in 1915," he would probably reply caustically that what he said in 1915 was meant for 1915, and that 1922 demands a different outlook and different expressions. And he might perhaps recall that Sir Robert Peel was still more attacked for a change of principle, but that history has justified his inconsistency. Great crises demand great decisions, and great decisions sometimes demand a breach with the past.

The mental make-up of his foreign policy is nevertheless essentially simple. He inherited the old Liberal belief in peace; that is why he is such a good fighter when he is really moved. He inherited, too, the old Liberal doctrine of nationalities, and preferably of small nationalities; he has made it abundantly clear that he is proud of belonging to a small nation, and that he believes in the small nation controlling its own destinies. So much is due, as the biologists say, to heredity; but

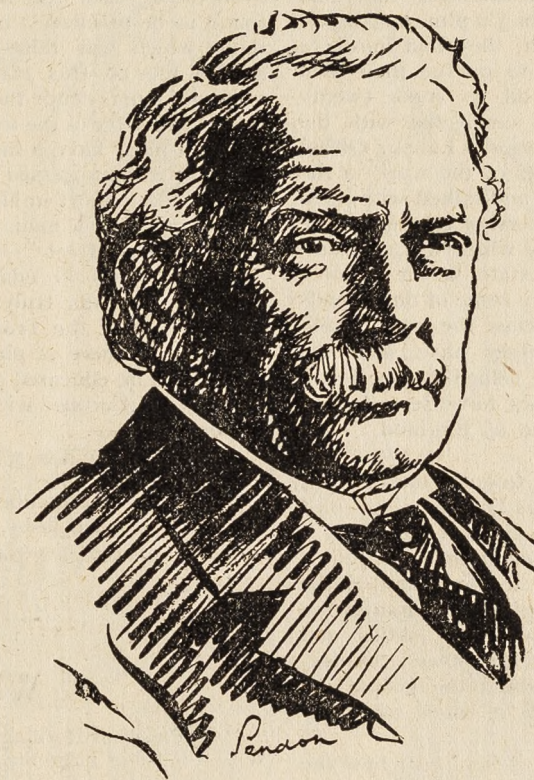
contemporary environment has revealed a flaw in this doctrine. The flaw is briefly this—that the small nation is not necessarily less aggressive, and it may be more ambitious, than its neighbours. The great militarist empire may be an intolerable nuisance and danger; but if the small nation aspires to become a great empire by the simple process of conquering its neighbours, it will not be less a nuisance and a danger to the world. Mr. Lloyd George has denounced Germany for annexing Poland, but he would equally denounce Poland for attempting to annex Germany.

At some critical moment, therefore, in his study of foreign politics, the Prime Minister added a third principle to the two he inherited. Still at heart a pacifist—although nobody denounced him for his inconsistency in becoming a great War Minister—and still a believer in the small nation, he saw that something more was necessary to civilisation than devotion to peace and the cause of the small nations. Perhaps it was their weakness, possibly their turbulence and the sudden evident intoxication which freedom brought them, that added this third principle of a League of Nations to his political make-up; but, at any rate, the new principle was added to his mental equipment, and it is now an integral part of his outlook on foreign affairs.

He has been attacked for not having done enough with the League of Nations. He has hardly troubled to defend himself, but defence would have been easy. Mr. Lloyd George is not the dictator of England; far less is he dictator of Europe. The League of Nations is a new thing, and the old forces are still strong within us. To have thrust it down the throats of European statesmen, struggling with their own difficulties of a shaken state and a public opinion at once reluctant and unstable, might have caused a general revolt against the whole idea of a League.

There was a time when it was denounced as an American invention for the destruction of the British Empire. There followed a time when it was denounced as a British invention for the control of the United States. Had Mr. Lloyd George, as Prime Minister, been obsessed by the League of Nations, we should now have been assured by the whole Continental Press that the League was a British invention for the subjugation of Europe. If Mr. Lloyd George were ever to resign the burden of his great office, he might possibly become a crusader of unrivalled authority for the League of Nations, and nobody at home or abroad could suspect his motives.

A Prime Minister, in short, has to deal with events and peoples as they are, not as we may suppose he would wish them to be. And he cannot wait for the ideal instruments to be forged while he deals with a situation that demands instant treatment. Mr. Lloyd George honestly believes in the League of Nations as a substitute for force. His difficulty is that other people still believe in force as a substitute for the League of Nations.



SEEING THE LEAGUE AT WORK

ON Wednesday, August 3rd, 1922, ninety-six and a-half British people arrived in Geneva—the half being a youthful enthusiast of three. These people were drawn from almost every class of the British community—some were commercial travellers, some were “county people,” some were trade union representatives, many were teachers. They came from every part of the British Isles—one man even came from the Hebrides.

After they had washed themselves, and “brushed themselves up,” and had had one meal, they plunged straightway into the work and interests that had brought them to Geneva; and from 3.0 p.m. on August 3rd, till 1.0 p.m. on August 12th, they had hardly a moment to spare even in which to pursue their own meditations. They listened in all to some twenty lectures on almost every subject connected with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. They heard experts giving *résumés* of the work in the several departments; they heard (and talked with) men of international reputation, not referring to the League as a piece of theoretical machinery which will, presumably, when man reaches a perfect state, be the panacea for all ills (this is the view taken by some of our friends in England), but vividly recounting the remarkable achievements which they themselves have seen the League perform, and, indeed, have helped it to perform. “We speak only of the things we have seen”—and “the future, ladies and gentlemen of England,” they added, “is in your hands.”

Such sentiments were expressed, to quote one eminent case, by M. Albert Thomas, who, as Directeur, received the school at the International Labour Office. In a speech full of courage and full of emotion, he appealed to the hearts of the British people to see to it that the work entrusted to him, of building up an organisation which shall secure and maintain social justice and humane conditions for the workers in every country, shall have the fullest support which the people are capable of giving it, and which it most assuredly deserves.

Not only did the members of the school hear how the machinery of the League works, they actually saw a piece of it working. During the period of the school, the Mandates Commission held a session in public. This is not the place to recount exactly what took place in that room at the Palais des Nations on August 7th, but it is enough to say that, whether by previous arrangement or not we cannot tell, the school was treated to one of those dramatic “incidents” so dear to the heart of the journalist looking hungrily for copy. For this the school desires to return thanks.

Fortunately, too, the school was favoured by a visit from Professor Gilbert Murray, who was in Geneva “sitting on” the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation. Professor Murray can do almost anything with his audiences; and on this occasion he used the few moments at his disposal to impress upon them the gravity of the European situation, and the urgent need for their whole-hearted and swift support. “We are on the verge of a precipice,” he said. “It is a race between all the organisations—political movements and aspirations, and religious movements—which may be summed up in the League of Nations, and some catastrophe greater than the world has ever seen. It is a race; but while we realise the gravity, we must not lose heart. We must conquer or die!”

The relations between the members of the school and the staffs of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office were not only official; by the courtesy and kindness (official and otherwise) which were at all times in evidence of the members of both organisations, they

rapidly became personal, and there was engendered that “personal touch,” the value of which can never be over-estimated.

On Sunday, August 13th, the school broke up. These are briefly the facts. Wherein lies their significance? It lies in this: the school was a representative body, drawn, as we have said, from all classes. They were ordinary people—some coming out to Geneva because they were mildly “interested in” the League; some to hear about a new thing—never having heard of the League in England; some for a holiday. That was the spirit in which, generally speaking, the people came. But when they went away a change had come over them: each felt that whatever before they had found to be of interest or value in life, here was something which was related to the very foundations of human life on this planet, and which, therefore, of necessity must occupy the mind of every man and woman in every country in the world. Each felt that the League had and must have a moral claim on society, and that anybody who expressed indifference or apathy towards it was falling short in his duty as a citizen, as a fellow-countryman, as a man. In short, the people came as “men in the street”—they departed as missionaries. Their way lies in educating and organising public opinion. As was truly said, “The Covenant of the Labour part of the Treaty was not yet known.” We believe that there is plenty of goodwill in England—waiting to be educated and organised. If this work is done now, Europe will be saved. If the work is neglected—

A. E. W. T.

[If a sufficient number of applications are received, Headquarters will issue, at cost price, a *résumé* of the Lectures of the Geneva Summer School.—ED.]

WILSON.

(“So President Harding is making his name famous, and Wilson is being forgotten.”—*Weekly Paper*.)

You who so lately brought us kingdoms, dreams
Beyond the dreams of kings,
Are passed into the shadow, broken for
Imponderable things.

The dream is done, the kingdom lost to view;
And we, who came to bless,
Have stayed to curse, break, ruin . . . O your heart
Knows its own bitterness!

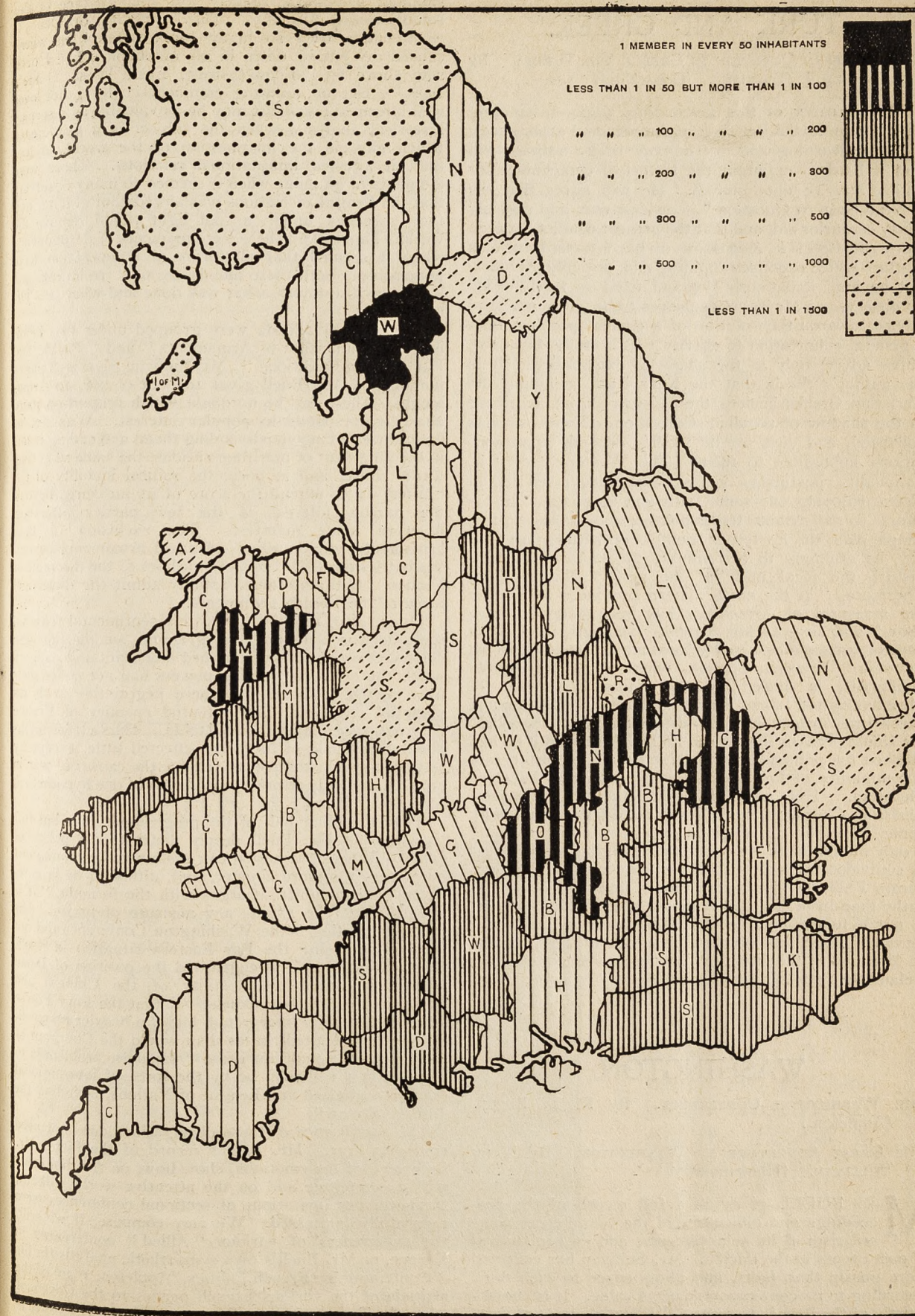
And yet the dream was true, the kingdom great;
And yet a torch was lit
Above the welter of our night, and you
Were dedicate to it.

Life is a moment; dust to dust returns;
But who beneath the sod
Shall prison that which lives because it must—
The spirit that is God?

So, when we all are passed from memory
(Dust, dust of long ago),
Men still unborn shall thrill that far flame,
Steer by that cherished glow:

Crying, “The dream was true, the kingdom great;
This, this our torch was lit
Above the welter of their night, and he
Was dedicate to it!”

V. H. FRIEDLAENDER.



Book Reviews.

TURK AND GREEK.

THE WESTERN QUESTION IN GREECE AND TURKEY. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Constable.) 18s.

THE reader of this fascinating work—fascinating less by its subject than in the personal experiences, ripe learning and dry humour of its author—will find it hard to maintain the historical detachment for which Mr. Toynbee strives. He will agree that the "Near Eastern Question" is at least one, and possibly thirty centuries old, and that the present conflict between Turk and Greek in Asia Minor is but a novel form of a warfare which exercised Canning and, possibly, Achilles, but he may impatiently demand from so level-headed an observer as Mr Toynbee proves to be, more practical advice towards the solution of a current problem than a general exhortation to charity. This study, however, offers advice only in the shape of explanation. It is the author's thesis that the Near East, including the Christian Greeks besides the Moslem Turks, is pining in the shadow of an alien civilisation. Their own has collapsed, and ours for its vitality depends upon conditions impossible to them. The Western theory of nationality postulates large homogeneous territorial blocks enjoying one same faith and language. In his efforts to redistribute the populations according to this simple plan, the Easterner commits atrocities, that is to say, he attempts to exterminate the minorities which disturb the ideal unity of the perfect Nation-State. Therefore, "in the north-eastern provinces of Turkey the massacre of Armenians has been endemic since 1895," and also, as Mr. Toynbee contends, the Greeks have organised massacres of local majorities in Western Anatolia. Western opinion, where it is not merely indifferent, is misled by the "false antitheses of Christianity and Islam, Europe and Asia, civilisation and barbarism," which Mr. Toynbee attempts to demolish. He would perhaps have stood on firmer ground if he had attacked the political relevance and not the existence of a community of faith between Orthodox and Western Christian. His pronouncement that "the several Christian Churches, though they have kept their family name, have had no religious experiences in common," is only intelligible if we understand religious experiences as equivalent to ecclesiastical development, and contemporary Philhellenism borrows more from religious sympathy than from classical reminiscence. This, however, is not a fundamental error. The book will do great service if it reminds Western observers of the historical background of the situation, because except possibly in Ireland the remote past does not greatly influence them.

H. C. H.

WASHINGTON.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE. By R. L. BUELL. (Appleton.)

THE GREAT ADVENTURE AT WASHINGTON. By MARK SULLIVAN. (Heinemann.)

MR. BUELL gives us a full record of the proceedings and difficulties of the Conference, some criticism of its achievements, and an explanation of past events in the Pacific. Mr. Sullivan has collected more gossip than facts, and allots space to each topic according to its contemporary news value. It is characteristic of the former to write: "Japan proper produces annually about 765,000 tons of steel materials; but its industries demand 1,113,000 tons, leaving an annual deficit to be imported of nearly (sic) 400,000 tons." Of

the latter: "The massive John W. Weeks came slowly down the steep steps of the gallery. Over Weeks' shoulder peered the homely and friendly face of the equally massive Denby. The simplicity of Denby's countenance with so many foreign faces elsewhere caused my jotting down in my notebook a line I once saw above an old hearthstone, East, West, Home's Best." But an amusing commentary by a not over well-informed journalist may be as valuable as a serious historical analysis, when the subject is a Conference which affected the imagination of the world no less than it affected international relations. There were moments of glamour when it seemed to many observers that the League of Nations was already out of date, and that speeches under a spot light would remove the world's bane. And there were moments of despondency when it seemed that all forms of co-operation were impossible. Both these moods are now irrelevant, and it is easy to estimate what was done and what was left undone.

The original agenda were grouped under two headings: "Limitation of Armaments" and "Pacific and Far Eastern Questions." Mr. Sullivan gives 218 pages out of 285, Mr. Buell gives 103 out of 368, to Armaments. There can be no doubt which proportion more nearly corresponds to popular interest. Was not to limit navies a long step to ending them, and ending them, in the judgment of maritime nations, the same as ending war? Here, and at once, the radical inability of the Conference to extend the score of its measures beyond the narrow interest of the few parties attending it were made manifest. The exclusion of land armaments and, in effect, of naval armaments beyond the battleship, is laid by both authors to the discredit of France. Both, however, frankly admit the dialectical force of the French arguments.

Japan, also, resisted for largely sentimental reasons, the reduction of its naval programme, but the Japanese delegates could not put forward any fears and dangers which the other contracting powers had not under their own control. Japan was there negotiating with its potential enemies. The potential enemies of France were not present at the council table. Thus a tremendous popular enthusiasm for peace effected little, except by setting a good example, to remove the causes of war in general, and only removed the causes of one hypothetical war.

As to the other half of the programme, it is but fair to note that Mr. Buell deeply distrusts the policy of Japan. Where any action can sustain two explanations he prefers the more sinister, and, although he is careful to prefix doubtful charges with the formula, "it is alleged that" he avoids any measure of praise. His judgment is that "the Washington Conference did not succeed in easing the Far Eastern situation in itself. On the contrary, it strengthened the position of Japan and it increased the hostility of the Chinese and Siberians toward the Japanese"; that the Four Power Treaty, if literally interpreted, laid "a heavier responsibility on the United States than would the Covenant of the League"; and that if the "Japanese problem is to be solved, it will only be by the force of international opinion organised in a League of Nations, including the United States."

The significance of these observations does not need emphasis here. Mr. Buell's record of the facts, Mr. Sullivan's of the emotions, show how, on the diplomats within committee and on the attentive world without, the necessary limitations of sectional conferences were mournfully impressed. We may compare, if we will, the experiences of various "Allied" conferences in Europe, or Mr. Buell's own sympathetic analysis (in his "Contemporary French Politics," Appleton, 1920) of the attitude of the various French parties to the Covenant when the Treaty of Versailles was drafted. The world is one; and the interests unrepresented at its councils work a peculiar revenge.

H. C. H.

SOME RECENT CONFERENCES.

CONFERENCES that succeed are often not those which are most largely advertised and of which most is expected. At the same time as the conference of the Allies was sitting in London, there were meeting in Denmark and Sweden at least four international conferences or committees dealing ultimately with the same subject, the promotion of unity, peace and prosperity in the world, which attained a very large measure of success because they approached their problems from that other angle, which can alone command success. They were conferences of Christian men and women, who were agreed that the only solution of the present world-difficulties can be found in applying to them the spirit and teaching of Christ.

The largest and most representative of these conferences was that of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, which was attended by delegates from twenty-five countries. Tuesday, August 8th, was devoted to the discussion of the thorny question of racial and religious minorities. So far from this subject splitting the conference as it had split another, at which also representatives of the countries immediately concerned were present, the conference discussed the matter in complete harmony and accord, and took action with a view to the position of religious minorities being considered jointly by the majority and minority of Churches in their own countries in order to secure for the minorities full religious freedom and just treatment. Such action recognises the basic fact that the question of minorities is not merely a political one, and that it cannot be successfully dealt with by politicians alone. Its solution can only be found when moral and spiritual considerations are taken into account, and that can only be attained by the closest co-operation of the Churches.

Another and less formal conference discussed the financial condition of the Protestant Churches in Europe. Perhaps the most significant feature of this conference was the complete agreement between the German and French members, who found a solution of most of their post-war misunderstandings when they met face to face across a table, and conducted their discussion otherwise than by correspondence or articles in the press.

The last of these Scandinavian meetings was that of the International Committee of the Universal Conference on Christian Life and Work, of which the Archbishop of Upsala is the enthusiastic inspirer. Its business was to make arrangements for the Conference on Life and Work which will take place in Stockholm in August, 1925. The meantime will be spent in that most careful preparation which is essential to the satisfactory results of any conference. Four sectional conferences will be held as preliminary in 1924, one arranged by the Orthodox Church, and the others on the Continent of Europe, in the United States and in Great Britain; this last will be the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, with which the League of Nations Union is working in close connection. The Committee drew up the following list of subjects:—The Church's Duty in view of God's Purpose for the World; Economic and Industrial Problems; Social and Moral Problems; International Relations; Christian Education; Methods of Co-operative and Federated Action by the Christian Communities.* This programme will form the subject of study by groups and by individuals in the several sections; the sectional reports will be exchanged and further studied in the year 1924-5, and after the Universal Conference a final report will be issued which, it is hoped, will express the views and intentions of a preponderating part of Christendom on these matters of fundamental and world-wide importance.

There are moments when we weary of conferences, seemingly for ever multiplied, and we ask, To what end? One answer may be given with confidence as their justification; even if they were productive of no immediate tangible result, they give the largest opportunity for that intercourse between persons of different races and nations, of diverse temperaments and Churches, which enables them to learn from each other, to understand the other's difficulties, to appreciate their strong characteristics and make allowance for their weak ones, and to see more as a whole the life and problems of the world. No person of intelligence and goodwill can attend such conferences as these without returning home both wiser and more capable of service for mankind.

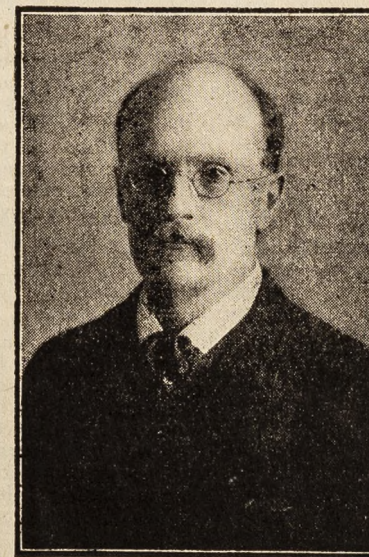
H. W. F.

* Questionnaires and suggestions for study on these subjects can be obtained from Miss L. Gardner, 92, St. George's Square, London, S.W. 1.

Onoto

and

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS



Professor Gilbert Murray

a distinguished user of

Onoto the Pen

THOMAS DE LA RUE & CO. LTD., 110, BUNHILL ROW, E.C.4, PRINTERS OF POSTAGE STAMPS AND BANKNOTES FOR THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD.

Onoto the Pen did not sign the Treaty which "ended" the War and began the "Peace," but as a gift for all occasions it carries messages of real peace, goodwill and friendship wherever it goes and

it goes all over the world to all lands and nations.

Every Onoto Pen, Pencil or Diary which you purchase helps "Headway" and the League of Nations Union.

FOUR LINKED PROBLEMS.

By J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT, Sc.D., C.B.E.*

THE problems of reparations, inter-allied debts, guarantee of frontiers against external aggression, and limitation of armaments, cannot be solved piecemeal. They must be tackled together if they are to be tackled with success, and signs are not lacking that an early solution is the only means of averting grave perils from Europe and the world.

There is imminent danger of economic collapse in Germany, a danger that involves risk of revolution and perhaps of war, with the consequent impossibility of resuming a large portion of British overseas trade, for a considerable period. While it is true that Germany was only the second-best customer of Great Britain before the war, and only received a small percentage (7.7 per cent. representing £40,677,000 in 1913) of British exports, the economic breakdown of Germany would affect British trade indirectly as well as directly, and the indirect effect would be by far the greater. Many of the countries which in 1913 received large consignments of British goods were only able to pay for them because of their own exports to Central Europe. If Central Europe remains unable to buy, these other countries will also cease to be markets for British goods. The probable consequences to this country, two-thirds of whose population depend for support on overseas trade, are too horrible to contemplate. If Britain ceased to export, she would only be able to maintain a population of about twelve million.

These dangers would be averted if the reparations problem could be finally settled on a reasonable basis. France feels that her only safety lies in Germany's remaining not merely disarmed but disorganised, and, if possible, disintegrated. It is true that France, more than any other nation, depends for her own stability on receiving large reparation payments from Germany, and that Germany can only pay on this scale by organised and hopeful effort. So France cannot decide whether to kill the cow, or to milk it; and in this frame of mind she is unable to agree to any course of action proposed from this side of the Channel. "He who hesitates is lost" says the proverb; but France is able to argue with much force that her unwillingness to accept proposals for reducing Germany's debt to a practicable figure is not due to hesitation, but to the fact that Britain, having obtained from Germany all the reparations she requires in the shapes of ships and colonies, cannot reasonably ask France to give up her due unless Britain is somehow prepared to make it worth her while to do so.

The question of reparations cannot therefore be solved apart from the question of inter-allied debts. Is England then to tell France that in return for fixing the German reparations debt at a figure which Germany can pay, and will do her best to pay quickly, she will cancel the debt owed her by France? We should be glad enough to cancel a debt, even of 584 million pounds, if we were sure that the finances of France and Germany would thus be stabilised. But are we to give France so large a sum of money for her to spend, not on balancing her budget, but on maintaining a huge army, and a vast air force forty times greater than that of Britain?

Thus the question of inter-allied debts is again bound up with that of limitation of armaments. There is a further connection between these two problems—namely, that any settlement of reparations and inter-allied debts would involve the scaling down of France's receipts from Germany by more than the nominal equivalent of France's debt to England. France would therefore be, nominally at any rate, poorer than before; and would be compelled to reduce her expenditure on armaments. French public opinion would be ready to consent to such a reduction if they were really reassured as to the danger from Germany. In other words, France might be willing enough to reduce her forces if only she were certain that she would never again have to rely on them alone for the protection of her eastern frontiers against the terror that has overwhelmed her twice in half a century. When France agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, including the Covenant of the League of Nations, she expected that Britain and America would bind themselves to go to her assistance if ever she were again invaded by Germany. That hope has not been realised, because America was unwilling to accept her share of the obligation. If, without America, England were to bind herself to France in this way, we should have a return to pre-war groupings and to the system of a balance of power that was so largely responsible for the havoc of the world-

war. What then remains? There is no way out unless all or most of the great nations will join in guaranteeing each other's frontiers against external aggression in return for an all-round and simultaneous reduction of armaments.

If then, France could be satisfied, by means of a universal guarantee, that her eastern frontiers were safe, she could, at one and the same time, reduce her expenditure, balance her budget, and agree to the reduction of the reparation payments due from Germany; for she would no longer have to fear that Germany's economic recovery would involve military danger to France.

So soon as the reparation debt had been reduced from its present figure of 6,600 million pounds, which the German Government seems never likely to be able to pay, to a figure (say 2,000 million, or 120 millions a year) which Germany and her potential creditors might agree to regard as practicable, American, as well as British money would be available for Germany, and also for France. This much, at least, the bankers' report of two months ago, justifies us in assuming.

This new money would ensure the economic recovery of Germany, and the dangers of internal disruption would be removed. As Germany returned to her full strength in industry and commerce, the recovery of the remainder of Central Europe would at least be enormously facilitated. British markets, not only on the Continent but elsewhere, would be restored, and our unemployment problem would be solved and our danger of starvation finally removed.

BEGINNING AT THE RIGHT END.

The strides made by the League of Nations movement among Education Authorities has frequently been recorded in HEADWAY. Day by day more and more encouraging news is received. The League of Nations Union recently sent a circular letter to 316 Education Authorities in the Kingdom, putting certain suggestions before them in regard to League of Nations instruction in the schools under their authority. To date, out of 63 county education authorities, 14 have adopted these suggestions either in full or in part; out of 80 county borough education authorities 45 have been in favour of the L.N.U. scheme, and 37 minor education authorities have also responded favourably.

Some of the replies received have been extraordinarily encouraging. The Dorset County Council Education Committee adopted all the suggestions put forward by the League of Nations Union, namely: (1) That a circular on the League should be issued to head teachers; (2) that L.N.U. literature should be placed in the requisition list, and copies of such literature supplied to each school under their authority; (3) that special lectures, under the auspices of the Education Authority, should be given to the teachers; (4) that talks on the League should be given in the schools. These suggestions have been sent to every elementary school in Dorsetshire.

The Lancashire Education Committee have asked for literature of the League of Nations Union to be sent to all head teachers in their area (800 in all), and have communicated with such teachers as to the desirability of having talks on the League in the schools. The County Borough of Newbury has agreed to all the Union's suggestions, and the County Borough of Barking has distributed L.N.U. pamphlets to all the schools, requesting head teachers to have lessons based on those pamphlets given in the schools.

Other examples may be given from Hull and Richmond, Barrow-in-Furness, and Llanelly, Accrington, and the North Riding of Yorkshire, but enough has been said to show the scope and importance of the movement. It should, however, be remembered that the splendid results achieved have only been possible because of the enthusiasm of the teachers themselves. From the President of the Board of Education downwards the teaching profession is solid for the League of Nations. Every important teachers' organisation in the country has pledged itself to support the League of Nations Union in its educational work, and every day that passes brings practical proof that this is no "paper" resolution, but one which is already being put into operation.

The Morley Education Committee has gone a good deal further than was suggested by the Union. Besides the recommendations about literature, the teaching of history and geography from the League point of view, essay competitions and special lessons, the Morley Committee has authorised a holiday on the afternoon of Armistice Day in place of that formerly given on the afternoon of 5th November. All members of the Committee and all teachers are invited to join the League of Nations Union, and representatives of the schools have been appointed to the Executive Committee of the local Branch.

A CRUCIAL MOMENT

has arrived in the work of relief in Russia. Over-optimistic reports from the famine area have led people to believe that the crisis was past. The result was an inevitable slackening of effort.

A RECENT REPORT

from one of our own workers in Russia states:

"It is too early to predict with certainty, but a famine of 50 per cent. of the severity of the last is a probability."

WE MUST CARRY ON

the work we have begun. Thousands of orphaned children need our help. Hundreds of thousands of peasants look to us to tide them over this tragic period in their country's history. **HELP US TO HELP THEM.**

YOU WILL BE HAPPY

in the knowledge of the fresh courage you are giving to a people in danger of falling a prey to despair.

This appeal is issued by the FRIENDS' RELIEF COMMITTEE, which is co-operating with the Save the Children Fund and the Russian Famine Relief Fund in the All-British Appeal for the Russian Famine. Donations, which may, if desired, be earmarked for any of these Funds, should be sent to the Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room 10, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.

Gifts in kind and clothes (new or partly worn) may be sent to the Friends' Warehouse, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C.4

* Part of the inaugural address at the League of Nations Summer School, Balliol College, Oxford, July 22nd, 1922.

"So simple, so clear, that
he who runs may read!"

Clear, fresh, vivid
rendering of the
New Testament
in every-day
English.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT

Translated
from the
Original Greek
(Westcott and Hort's text).

Every page lives!

In various styles and prices, from 3/- to 7/6.

THE POCKET EDITION, size $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4 \times \frac{3}{8}$,
is a marvel of compactness; easily carried in the
pocket, ready for reference at odd moments.

Its price is only 3/6 net, post free 3/11.

WHY NOT BUY A COPY TO-DAY?

You will be charmed with it, and join
in recommending it to your friends.

LONDON:
THE NATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION,
57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, E.C.4.
And of all Booksellers.

AN IDEAL GIFT BOOK
For all Nature Lovers

NATURE ALL THE YEAR ROUND

By
J. ARTHUR THOMSON, M.A., LL.D.
(Professor of Natural History, Aberdeen University.)

With 52 Illustrations specially drawn for this work
by Alice M. Davidson, and coloured Frontispiece.

Crown 4to. 12s. 6d. net. Cloth boards.
Postage 1s. extra

What the Press says:—

The Spectator says:—"Prof. Thomson is a learned naturalist, who is also a most engaging writer. . . . Nothing could be better of its kind. The facts are accurately stated, and the style is simple and clear. The illustrations by Miss Alice M. Davidson are drawn with unusual care. . . . Professor Thomson has rare skill in description and in the exposition of scientific principles."

The Times says:—"The distinguished Aberdeen Professor has a singular faculty for popularising Natural History."

The Glasgow Herald says:—"Such 'talks,' intended to give guidance and suggestions to teachers of 'Nature Study,' are Professor Thomson's speciality."

The Christian World says:—"For every week in the year Professor Thomson provides a deeply interesting talk. . . . It will help the wise parent or teacher to talk to children with sound knowledge about Nature. Dr. Thomson takes a broad view of his subject, and often writes fascinatingly."

ORDER TO-DAY.

LONDON:
THE PILGRIM PRESS, 16, Pilgrim Street, E.C.4.
And of all Booksellers

THE I.L.O.

WHAT M. ALBERT THOMAS THINKS.

By PROF. F. F. ROGET, GENEVA.

IN order to spread abroad knowledge of its organisation and method of work, the International Labour Office of the League of Nations took advantage of the audiences of students who came from all countries, and were of either sex and all ages, to attend the lectures given at the University of Geneva during the Long Vacation, and arranged a course of lectures on its own work.

The first lecture was given by M. Albert Thomas. He was formerly one of the French Socialist leaders in the arena of politics. He is now the head of the I.L.O. and the self-sacrificing inspirer of the office he directs. He gives himself up wholly to a broadly comprehensive way of thinking. This temper alone is consistent with the curbing of the economic forces at play in the world. M. Thomas now exists only for the management of these, with a view to the benefit of all who are subject to their iron grip upon this world. Those forces are ever fraught with a risk of crushing out of shape the bits of humanity caught in their grasp, whether such be man, woman, or child. In the field of labour, work produces the totality of wealth, whether the individual be he who pays, or he who is paid for using hand or brain in ministering to the wants of social life. Yet the reconciliation of wealth to healthy conditions of labour is an ever-recurring problem. Just as the conscious consecration of oneself to work is the distinctive mark between man and beast, so the humane treatment of the paid worker is the test of honourably acquired wealth.

Speaking in that mood, M. Thomas pointed out that journalists are wrong in their tiresome iteration that the International Labour Office is a new-fangled Wilsonism. The idea is 100 years old and of British origin. Robert Owen took the first step, under circumstances much like those resulting from the last world-war. After the fate of Napoleon I. as a catastrophic personality was sealed at Waterloo, European congress after European congress was held in order to reconstruct the world which had been entirely knocked off its hinges and hacked to pieces during twenty years of fratricidal warfare. In 1818 Owen brought before the Great Powers two memoirs propounding a plan for the regulation of labour matters by international legislation. The idea is not new, but the world was then too much disturbed for success in pushing it.

Exactly the same difficulties are met with nowadays. They arise from a still more chaotic state of international finance and business conditions than existed then. The protection of workers by law was impossible as long as the workers could not be got to stand up for it in a body. They could not, or would not, care. It was vain for technical health experts, masters of industry, and social reformers to put their heads together in the cause of reform so long as, from ignorance, indifference to their own welfare, and intellectual inability, the workers did not form organisations among themselves for the good of their class. They proved themselves either mute or active accomplices in the neglect of regulations framed for their protection.

Fortunately, the last world-war found the working classes self-conscious at last. As early as September, 1914, a few weeks after the outbreak of war, there could be detected floating in the air a general feeling that the working classes did deserve some compensation for their terrible sacrifice of life and limb. There came also into being among the masses of the workers an overwhelming sense that peace could only be built up on social justice. Then the American Federation of Labour demanded that the working classes should have their word to say in the drafting of the Treaty of Peace, and their claim was supported by Mr. Lloyd George. In 1919, the Conference of Working Men's Syndicates at Berne in Switzerland, put into shape the new Charter of Labour, to be presented to the peace negotiators. This Charter took its final and comprehensive shape in the preamble to Part 13 and in Article 427 of the Treaty of Versailles. This statement of the implicit rights of labour may, if the working man has will, wisdom, and perseverance enough to make it effectual, find its place in history beside the English Magna Charta and the American Declaration of Independence, which have become cornerstones in building up the political independence of individual citizens throughout the English-speaking world.

Unfortunately, since 1919, economic matters throughout the world have not righted themselves as much as those hoped who staked their faith upon the social clauses in the Treaty of Peace. Indeed, the hoped-for general forward march in

enacting measures for the protection of labour by legislative means, can only progress along two parallel lines.

One of those lines is concerned with the economic structure of each state or nation; the other consists in the application of universally protective principles and measures to the generality of states or nations. The International Labour Office thus has to keep an eye on two sides of one and the same problem. If progress is not uniform it becomes vain as a world-idea. Any progress must take place at the same time on both those lines at home and abroad. Why? Because true progress must aim at being, in the long run, a guarantee of prosperity, bringing an increment of wealth and health throughout the working communities of the world. But this happy result cannot be reached without throwing additional burdens upon private capital and upon the public budgets which are raised from taxation of the people. These progressive burdens are not accepted alike by all civilised states concerned; they bear unequally upon them. When labour is insufficient to go round, another set of difficulties arises. There is a tendency to restrict the area of reform by reduction of general costs to the nation.

So unity in protection throughout the industry of each state, and equalisation of the terms of labour in all states are as difficult as they are essential to obtain.

To the power of the International Labour Office are set other limits which it cannot overstep. The natural craving of the workers would be for a universal labour parliament. That is not practicable because it would mark a political division between the classes and the masses. Conferences of sanitary and scientific experts sitting with representatives of the masters of labour and representatives of the labouring hands have proved themselves a possibility. Should such promising conferences as that of 1921 in Geneva under Lord Burnham have powers to frame internationally equal laws of labour? The objection is that no national parliament will agree to renounce its right to pass any laws it may choose. As an alternative, such conferences may limit themselves to the mere drafting of labour bills. This would respect Parliamentary rights and is the course pursued at present through the instrumentality of the International Labour Office. That is really not enough, thinks its President. Such recommendations are thankfully acknowledged by the Governments to which they are addressed. But to what extent will they be endorsed by them and put into practice with legal compulsion attached? And will the workers themselves submit to them and observe them in countries where decency in the standard of living is a word void of meaning among the masses?

The International Labour Office does not lie upon a bed of roses. On the one hand, there is the drag of backward or uninterested peoples. On the other hand, superior nations such as the Americans, who have, irrespective of the wage question, forged far ahead in the handling of non-political labour problems, taunt the Office with lagging behind.

League of Nations Union Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

November, 1918	...	...	...	3,217
November, 1920	...	...	...	49,858
November, 1921	...	...	...	135,450
August 24th, 1922	...	...	...	200,475

Corporate Members.

New Corporate Members have been registered as follows: Brighton, Southwick Congregational Church; Bongey, Congregational Church and Grand Order of Israel Friendly Societies; Louth, Adult School; Southport, Preparative Meeting, Society of Friends.

Branches.

On August 24th there were 920 recognised Branches, together with 44 Junior Branches and 114 Corporate Members.

New Publications.

The League of Nations Union announces the publication of the following pamphlets during August: No. 97. *The Perils to World Peace* (speech by the Prime Minister); No. 93. *The League of Nations—Some Side Shows*; No. 95. *Civilised Warfare*: by Sir Oliver Lodge.

To Stabilize Europe

- ☞ Peace and prosperity can never be established in Europe by forces which are merely political, financial, or material.
- ☞ There is little hope for the future of this Continent until its nations are governed by moral and spiritual motives.
- ☞ The Bible should be placed in every home in Europe: because it reveals the one Ruler and Restorer—Who is perfect Man and perfect God—Who alone can transform human hearts and destroy human selfishness.
- ☞ The need for the Bible is greatest in countries which have hardly any popular Christian literature and little systematic teaching and preaching of Christian truth.
- ☞ The Bible Society is the best agent for distributing Holy Scripture: because it stands above sects, it does not proselytize, it simply places God's Word, without note or comment, in every man's hands in his mother tongue.
- ☞ The Society's colporteurs on the Continent are far fewer than before the war. To-day, fresh men are available, and many doors stand open. The main hindrance is lack of funds.
- ☞ For the sake of Europe—the Continent called Christian—will you help the Society to restore its colportage?

Send a gift to the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

LANTERNS

AND

SLIDES

DO YOU LECTURE
OR GIVE ADDRESSES?

Do you use Lantern Slides of any description? We can make them for you from your own photographs, at moderate cost. We stock, for sale or hire, thousands of slides, photographic and coloured, of clear and sharp definition, and artistic tinting. Subjects include, amongst others, Missionary, Educational, Scientific, Botanical, Religious, Temperance and Social subjects.

THE LONDON LIST OF LANTERN SLIDES, Part 1, Sacred; Part 2, Educational and General, 1/3 each post free.

J. W. BUTCHER,

2 & 3 Ludgate Circus Buildings, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4
Telephone: CITY 4914

Readers of Headway are invited to purchase one of the British made

HARPER PIANOS

ORDINARY PIANOS or PLAYER PIANOS

Write for list. High grade quality and finish. Beautiful Tone

Finest value at moderate price.

Sold for CASH or on MONTHLY TERMS.

HARPER PIANO CO. LTD., Sidney C. Harper,
256/262, HOLLOWAY ROAD, LONDON, N.7. Managing Director

ADVERTISE IN HEADWAY YOUR OWN PAPER!

More than 50,000 Readers will see your advertisement

Send for RATE CARD to
ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER, Poppins Court, E.C.4.

Making Policy Effective.

Members of the League of Nations Union will be very gratified at the appointment of Mrs. Coombe Tennant and Col. John Ward in addition to the Earl of Balfour and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher as the British representatives at the Third Assembly of the League. It was part of the famous "Birmingham Policy" of the Union that both "Labour" and women should have a voice at the Assembly. Mrs. Coombe Tennant is an enthusiastic member of the Union and has addressed many League of Nations meetings. She presided at the great demonstration held at Llandrindod Wells last June. The rapid progress of the Union in Stoke-on-Trent is due in no small degree to the help of its popular Labour member, Colonel Ward.

* * *

A Scottish Summer School.

The Scottish Council of the League of Nations Union has organised a Summer School to take place at Bongskeid House, Pitlochry, Perthshire, from September 29th to October 2nd. The charge from tea on the Friday to breakfast on the Tuesday will be only £2. Professor J. Y. Simpson, of New College, Edinburgh, and Mrs. Simpson will be host and hostess. Varied and interesting series of lectures will be given by eminent authorities including Professor Simpson, Major Ewing (Edinburgh University), Dr. Leonard Russell (Glasgow University), Mr. W. H. Marwick (Workers' Educational Association), and Mr. Frederick Whelen (League of Nations Union). The arrangements are in the hands of Captain W. D. Bissett, V.C., League of Nations Union, 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow.

* * *

Wales "All Out" for the League.

There appears to be no holding the Welsh Council of the Union now that it has got into its stride. Every public event of any importance in Wales appears to have some striking League of Nations feature. At the Welsh National Agricultural Show, held recently in Wrexham, the ladies of the Wrexham Branch established a most attractive stall for the distribution of literature, the sale of badges, the display of posters, &c. Daffodils were sold in large numbers, as the particular emblem of the Welsh Council.

Similarly, at the Royal National Eisteddfod, Ammanford, the activities of the Union were brought to the notice of the scores of thousands who attended that function. The competitions in the playing of J. O. Francis's "The Crowning of Peace," were of very high standard and the interest displayed was very marked, the Pavilion being crowded for each performance. Opportunity was taken by several speakers between performances to allude to the idea for peace underlying this Pageant play and to draw attention to the mission of the Principality in the work for world peace. Among these speakers were "Llew Tegid," the veteran Eisteddfod conductor; the Rev. Idwal Jones, of Rhos, Wrexham, and Captain Frederic Evans, the Organiser under the Welsh Council.

Captain Frederic Evans, M.B.E., B.A., intends during the coming winter season to deliver to some of the Branches in Wales a lantern lecture entitled "Campaigning in Arctic Russia." The lecture will be illustrated by lantern slides from Captain Evans's own photographs, and will deal with incidents in the Campaign of the North Russia Expeditionary Force, 1918-1919. The intention is to make the

lecture a public one, and an appeal will, of course, be made at the close for support of the League of Nations Union.

Bringing in the Adult Schools.

The Beccles Branch has the free use of the large hall of the local Adult School Committee. This is a practical sign of the increasing interest of the Adult School movement in the League of Nations.

* * *

A Wonderful Record.

The Windermere Branch began a membership campaign in March last and already has 1,000 new members out of a total population of 6,000. It is mainly owing to this achievement by the Windermere Branch that Westmoreland was the top county in membership for July.

* * *

A League Assembly in London.

The Y.W.C.A. has been holding a Summer School in London which resolved itself into a miniature League of Nations, fifteen European states being represented, as well as the U.S.A. To Miss Muriel Currey, O.B.E., Headquarters lecturer of the League of Nations Union, fell the none-too-easy task of presenting the case for the League to this gathering. The result has been that many new workers have been obtained for the League in all the countries represented.

* * *

Winter Activities.

Mr. F. Weston, who is in charge of the Public Meetings Section at Headquarters, reports that, from correspondence already received, it is clear that there will be many more meetings during the coming winter than in any previous period in the history of the Union. But the increase in the number of Branches and in membership still leaves room for improvement in the demand for meetings.

Last winter Headquarters arranged for speakers to take an average of 300 meetings per month. Next winter it is hoped to double this average. The number of available voluntary speakers has greatly increased. It is of course impossible for speakers of the category of Viscount Grey and Lord Robert Cecil to devote much time to Union meetings, and even Mr. Frederick Whelen, indefatigable as he is, cannot be expected to do more than from 300 to 400 meetings a year.

It is proposed for next winter to lay particular stress on the educational value of series of lectures on various phases of the League's work. Branches desiring to take up this idea will be helped, so far as possible, with a suggested syllabus and expert lecturers.

* * *

Leominster Doing Well.

The Leominster Branch completed its first year on July 31st last. Out of a total population of 5,500, this Branch has a membership of 500 and a bank balance on the right side.

* * *

League of Nations Exhibitions.

Two big exhibitions are planned for this autumn. These are both to take place during November. The North Staffordshire District Council has undertaken one of these with characteristic enterprise and thoroughness. Each of the member States of the League has been asked to contribute six articles representing what is most typical of its industry, art and national life. Most of the fifty-one States have already agreed to co-operate. The varied programme

will include lectures, addresses, and topical plays, and a prominent representative of the Diplomatic Corps in London will open the Exhibition each day. Offers of help should be made to the Organising Secretary, 124, Trentham Road, Stoke-on-Trent.

The other Exhibition will be at St. Albans from November 6th to November 11th. The purpose of this Exhibition will be to show the extent of the support for the League of Nations at home and abroad through the efforts of the League of Nations Union, and Voluntary Societies for the League in other countries, and also to assemble under one roof typical examples of the arts and handicrafts from all the Member States of the League.

Fifty-one pavilions are being erected to house the exhibits from each of the fifty-one countries in the League. Arts and Handicrafts Societies abroad, Voluntary Societies for the League, Embassies, Consulates and foreign residents in England are helping to make the pavilion of their own country an artistic and educational success. Ladies from the various Embassies have promised to attend the Exhibition, dressed in the peasant costume of their country, and act as stall-holders.

An extensive programme is being arranged and will include pageant and mystery plays, national dances, lectures, a League of Nations Ball, a demonstration by the local Branches of the British Legion, band concerts, and other entertainments.

Volunteers are wanted to assist the ladies from the Embassies as stall-holders, and to act as programme sellers and stewards. It would help considerably with the pageantry of the Exhibition if volunteers would purchase their own national dress from the designers who are working for the Exhibition, but a limited number of costumes are being made for the League of Nations Union and will be lent to those who are unable to purchase.

Offers of help and all inquiries should be made in writing to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

* * *

Attracting Public Attention.

The Gorsham Branch has posted a board covered with green baize in an empty shop window in the High Street. On this board is shown the list of officials of the Branch, its membership, subscription terms, some Headquarters leaflets, and newspaper cuttings that are frequently changed.

* * *

"No More War."

The number of Branches of the Union that took a leading part in the "No More War" demonstrations is too numerous to recount in HEADWAY. At Ringwood, for instance, the local Branch organised the demonstration which was attended by over 1,000 people. Likewise at Hanley, the North Staffordshire District Council conducted several splendid open-air meetings for the "No More War" cause. In London, Birmingham, and elsewhere, the League was not allowed to be forgotten by those who expressed their abhorrence of war.

* * *

The Fête at Edinburgh.

On July 22nd the Edinburgh Branch gave a fête in the grounds of Bruntisfield House, one of the historic mansions of Scotland. Lady Lodge opened the fête. A pageant play acted by 60 pupils of the Ladies College, Queen Street, was much appreciated. The English Folk Dancing Society gave an excellent performance. The W.E.A. Dramatic Club gave a dramatic sketch and the "Blackameers" supplied a minstrel entertainment. The literature stalls were well patronised. Colonel Borden Turner, O.B.E., delivered a characteristically striking address. The result is a "boom" in League of Nations "stock" in Edinburgh.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Many interesting letters have been received this month, and in order to act on the most valuable suggestions it was necessary to defer publication of the letters. We would impress upon our readers how useful it is to have their views regularly. Sometimes the best thing to do is to publish at once the information requested, and to hold over the letters when there is insufficient room for both.—Ed.

Renew your Subscriptions.

Annual subscriptions become renewable on the first day of the month in which the subscription was paid for the year 1921 or 1922. As annual subscriptions of 3s. 6d. or £1 entitle members to receive only 12 copies of HEADWAY, it is necessary for renewals to be paid immediately they fall due to avoid any interruption in the supply of HEADWAY.



The "Boxed-in" Lever is an exclusive Waterman feature. It ensures continuous efficiency, prevents the lever jamming, working loose, or breaking. Instead of being a weak point it is a strong point. To make sure of it INSIST on the Self-Filling

Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen

Ask also to see the new "MOTTLED" Self-Filling Waterman's Idea fitted with 18-ct. gold filled clip-cap (riveted on) and gilt box lever. It is a beautiful pen to look at, to handle and to use, and it makes a particularly fine gift for the man who already has one pen and needs another for Red, Green or Violet Ink.

The price of the "Mottled" Pen is 25/- and upwards.

Waterman's Ideal in 3 Types: right. In Silver and Gold for "Regular" type from 12/6. Presentation. Of Stationers and "Safety" and "Self-Filling" type from 17/6. Nibs to suit all hands and Jewellers everywhere. Write for —exchanged gratis if not quite a copy of "The Pen Book," free from:

L. G. Sloan, Ltd. The Pen Corner Kingsway, London, W.C.2

Use Waterman's Ideal INK for all Fountain Pens.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

- 1s. a year. Minimum Subscription.
- 3s. 6d. a year. Membership and HEADWAY.
- £1 a year. Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.
- £25. Life Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.
- All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment.

Applications to join the Union should be made to the secretary of a local Branch or to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to "League of Nations Union" and crossed London Joint City and Midland Bank.

Particulars of the work in Wales may be obtained from the Honorary Director, League of Nations Union, Welsh Council, 6, Cathedral Road, Cardiff.

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, Etc.

WORTHING.—Health-giving holidays; big restful garden; sea-bathing; airy rooms; from 52s. 6d.—Hostess, Gwentholme Guest House, Selden-road. (Stamp.)

EDUCATIONAL.

THE PRIORY GATE.—Preparatory School for Boys and Girls from 6 years. P.N.E.U. program. Home life with free development. Special interest in neurotic or highly strung children. —Major and Mrs. Faithfull, Sudbury, Suffolk.

MISCELLANEOUS.

SPECIALLY DESIGNED BADGES for League of Nations Flag Days. 12s. 6d. per 1,000. Pinned ready. Samples.—Edwards & Daving Ltd., Rochdale.

The Great Liberal Progressive Paper
DAILY NEWS

Reconstruction in Europe

The SPECIAL NUMBERS of The Manchester Guardian Commercial

THEIR SCOPE AND AIM:

In spite of Genoa, in spite of the Hague, the Problems of Reconstruction in Europe remain as complex as ever, and as difficult for the ordinary man to grasp. "The Manchester Guardian Commercial" in its series of Special Numbers has set out to survey the conditions that enter into the disordered state of European industry and commerce.

The enterprise is the most serious and comprehensive contribution any newspaper has made to this, the greatest task before Europe to-day.

Mr. J. M. Keynes, the General Editor, has enlisted the services of the highest authorities of Europe—statesmen, business men, economists, historians, distinguished writers and thinkers. The numbers that have so far appeared have a world circulation and have been published in the chief languages of Europe—English, French, Italian, German and Spanish. The articles have been widely quoted in the world's press, and as the reception of the first number among the delegates at Genoa showed, are being closely followed by leading statesmen and business men of all countries.

The numbers deal with Reconstruction in Europe in all its phases. They have no propagandist aim. They seek to state problems simply; to indicate on what lines relief and reform may come. Economists and technicians may know the remedies, but they must persuade politicians and Governments, and Governments will not heed until they feel the pressure of public opinion. The aim of "The Manchester Guardian Commercial's" enterprise is to enlighten and form public opinion. The effort is one that the business man cannot neglect, for it points out to him the causes that are holding back trade, and suggests how he can play his part in helping to recreate stability and confidence.

Numbers already published:

- I.—The Problems of the Exchanges
English Edition out of print.
- II.—Principles of Reconstruction; Shipping; Inland Water Transport
- III.—The Genoa Conference; The Textile Industries of Europe; Financial and Exchange Questions
- IV.—Russia; Oil
- V.—The National Finances of Europe; Tariffs
- VI.—Population and Food Supply; Agriculture; The Peasant Revolution in Eastern Europe

Numbers still to come:

- Railways; Coal; Iron, Steel and Engineering
- The Devastated Areas; Reparation
- Labour Problems of Europe; Oil
- The United States and Europe; Emigration
- Banking, Investment Markets, and Currencies of Europe
- The Reconstruction of Europe—Summary and Conclusion

The Numbers are sent free to subscribers to "The Manchester Guardian Commercial" or may be purchased singly, price 1s. for each number. Subscribers should indicate which Edition they prefer, whether English, French, Italian, German or Spanish. Address Guardian Buildings, Manchester.